1: Jenness--60-61 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 352

"The hut that we were describing was complete indeed, but it had neither furniture nor door. If snow-blocks from without were used in building it there [61] will be a hole in one of the bottom blocks through which to pass them in; if no such hole exists one is quickly cut out with the knife. Now the woman goes inside, carrying her snowshovel with her, levels the floor in the front half and raises a bank behind it to form the sleeping-platform. Often in building the hut the man will cut his blocks from the front part only, leaving the snow behind at its natural level, which is now one tier above the floor; this gives a platform already made, and he has merely to pass in the furniture for his wife to arrange in order."

1: Jenness--61 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 352

"Meanwhile his wife is arranging the house within. Usually a gap is made in the middle of the sleeping-platform where clothes and other articles can be conveniently stowed away. Then she arranges the platform itself, covering it over with mats of willow twigs tied together with rawhide thongs, and bridging the gap with three or four planks. Musk-ox skins are laid on top of the matting, and on these again the deerskins, in two layers, the lower ones having the fur side downwards while the upper skins have the fur on top. In the upper skin --each is called a kak --not only should the fur be upwards, but the hair should lie towards the door; for, like a carpet, they must be swept from time to time and naturally the sweeping is done outwards on to the floor along the set of the hair. The sleeping-bags, the men's tool-bags, the women's sewing-kits and various other articles are strewn indiscriminately on top of the skins till bedtime, when the room is tidied up."

1: Jenness--61-62 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 352, 354

"In front of the platform the lamp and table with their appurtenances occupy half the floor space, while the door comes in the middle of the arc at the very bottom of the wall. Usually, but by no means invariably, the lamp is to the left of the door, as seen from the inside. The natives have a curious device for supporting the lamp and table, and every family adopts the same method. One piece of the furniture consists of a long board shaped like the letter L, but widest at the elbow. This is used to form a strut, the long end, the top of the L being driven into the wall of the house, while the short end rests directly upon the floor or on top of a small block of snow. The table is a long flat board resting at one end on the elbow of the strut; the other, like the strut, to which it is at right angles, is driven deep into the wall. It thus lies parallel to the front of the sleeping platform, from which it is separated by a narrow space along which the wife can move freely in and out. Both table and platform stand some two feet above the floor.

Two poles run parallel to the table and just behind it; on one side their ends are resting on the strut, while on the other they are driven into the snow wall of the hut. On top of these is placed the lamp, a shallow trough of stone with a partition usually along the back; sometimes, instead of a single lamp of large dimensions two smaller ones are used, placed end to end. Care must be taken to set the lamp horizontally, or with a slight tilt forward so that the oil will run towards the wick. Some contrivance is then required for suspending the cooking-pot above it, so a short stick, notched at its upper

end is planted [62] vertically on the edge of the main strut near its elbow; another stick is now laid across it at right angles, parallel to the strut below, with one end resting in the notch, and the other driven into the wall; this gives a second strut on top of the first. Two poles are laid across this new strut, parallel with those supporting the lamp, and the drying rack, an oval hoop of wood with rawhide webbing is set on top of them. From the foremost pole, the one that lies nearest the sleeping platform, the pot is suspended by two cords in such a way that it hangs about half an inch above the flame of the lamp, while from the pole behind shoes and other small articles that require drying are suspended. If two families share a dwelling, or the man has a second wife, another lamp and its outfit is set up in similar fashion on the opposite side of the hut. Often the space is vacant, and a little girl will play at housekeeping in this corner, erecting a lamp there for herself, either a small one made of soapstone in the usual manner, or merely a hollow pebble from the beach."

1: Jenness--79 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 352, 354

"The interior arrangements of the spring tent are the same as in the snow-hut. When erected over a floor of snow it has a sleeping-platform, table and lamp exactly like the hut. On bare ground a platform is impracticable, but the bedding is arranged in the same way, though on a level with the floor. If the family still have a lamp and blubber they set it on the ground in the usual place, and arrange the cooking pot above it on two stones, one on each corner of the lamp. In most places, however, by the time the snow has melted there is plenty of other fuel available, willow or heather of the Dryas octopetala, and the stone lamp is cached away until the fall. In fine weather cooking takes place out of doors, but whenever it is cold or windy a hearth is made just inside the doorway. The smoke soon fills the tent and slowly drifts out of the entrance; if it becomes unendurable the flap in the rear of the tent is raised a little, and the current of air that pours in drives the smoke through the doorway."

2: Stefansson--65
116, 352, 251

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"It is also common that a house has an alcove for storage purposes either built on to the house or excavated into the snowbank in which the house stands. This alcove is used chiefly for the storing of meat and blubber although other articles may be kept there as well. Sometimes these storage alcoves are built into the wall of the alleyway just outside of the door of the house in which case they have to be closed with snow blocks for the dogs of the family occupy the alleyway and would help themselves if unrestrained."

2: Stefansson--230 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
352, 117

"All the people seem to carry with them dwarf willow for bedding and their skins are polar bear, seal, and deer. The lamp is on a platform usually of two parallel bars two feet above the floor and resting one on a piece of snow on edge, the other on a bar at right angles also stuck through the wall. This is about eighteen inches above the lamp stand and from it is swung the pot, while above is a long narrow frame for drying socks, etc. In front of the lamp is a sideboard from twelve to twenty-four inches wide on which rest the ulu, dipper, pieces of meat to be cooked or that are cooling, parings of blubber trimmed off too fat meat, etc. When this gets pretty well littered it is scraped clean, the litter being pushed over the back edge of it and falling in a pile about under the lamp. This is periodically gathered up for dog feed."

2: Stefansson--246 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
352, 117

"Sleeping Bags. Saw no sleeping bags nor sewn-up deerskin blankets, but they may have either or both." (9)

"9. [Stefansson's comment, p. 453] We never saw any proper sleeping bags, but we later often saw robes of such a shape as would be given were a bag first made and then slit from a point twelve or eighteen inches from the foot all the way to the mouth."

22: Richardson--350 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 352

[AW: Not limited to the Copper Eskimo] "The furniture, [AW: of the igloo] such as seats, tables, and sleeping-places, is also formed of snow, and a covering of folded rein-deer skin, or seal skin, renders them comfortable to the inmates."

One (Figure 56), 15 1/4 inches long by 8 1/2 inches wide, has been fashioned from a basic igneous rock that seems to be gabbro; the other (IV.D.69), 12 inches long by 7½ inches wide, from an impure red sandstone. These two lamps greatly resemble some from Hudson Bay, and probably came from that direction; for although the Victoria Islanders commonly obtained their lamps from Coronation Gulf, they sometimes travelled south by way of Bathurst Inlet and traded with Eskimo in the vicinity of Back River.

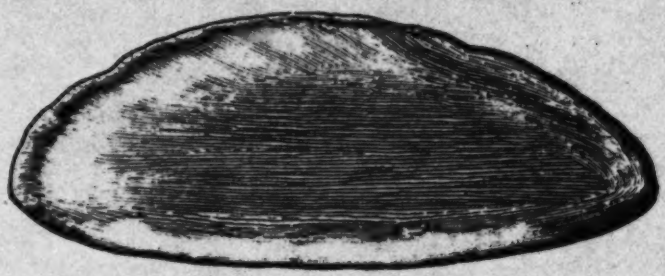

Figure 56. Lamp made from igneous rock. IV.D.67. 1/3.

In the snow-hut the lamp rested directly on two stout sticks laid parallel with one another behind the table. Care was taken to render it perfectly horisontal, or with a slight tilt forward, as a backward tilt prevented the oil from flowing to the wick. On one side both table and sticks were supported by an L-shaped board or strut (Figure 57) of which the long arm was driven into the snow wall near the door, and the short arm rested on the floor or was raised to the proper angle on a block of snow; on the other side, they were pushed into the side wall of the hut. Thus, both lamp and table paralleled the front edge of the sleeping platform, leaving a gap just wide enough for the housewife to slide into her seat.

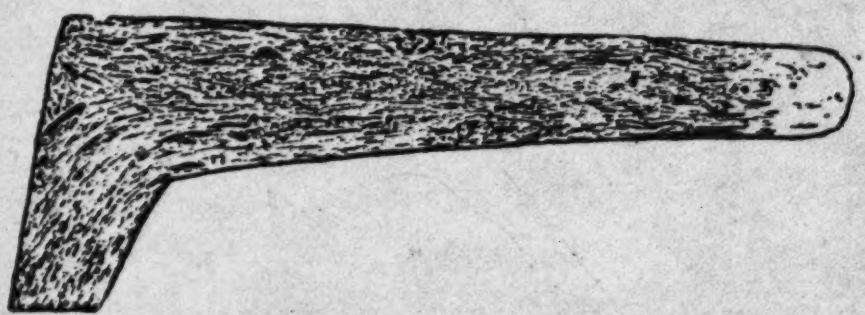

Figure 57. Strut for supporting table. IV.D.699. Approx. 1/12.

Occasionally a family lacked a proper strut to support the lamp and supplied its place with snow blocks. In the spring tent, too, the sticks and boards naturally rested on snow blocks because there was no snow wall to support them. In the late spring and throughout the summer, when most of the household furniture had been stored in caches and the Eskimo were moving over the land,

354 352 two or three stones supported the lamp; and on short winter journeys, when the lamp served only for light, it was simply placed on a block of snow. As already stated, it was seldom employed during the summer months.

354 824 [137] [237] [415] Unlike nearly all Eskimo tribes the Copper Eskimo seldom or never used moss for the lamp-wick, but substituted the seeds of the cottongrass, *Eriophorum angustifolium*, or, more rarely, the catkins of the dwarf willow, either of which gave a more smokeless flame. *Eriophorum angustifolium* matures about the beginning of September, and it was at that season the women gathered the seeds into small bags made of loon skin, marmot skin, or other convenient material. They gathered a large supply, as in midwinter the wick needed daily renewing; and they deferred the separation of the seeds from the stalks until leisure moments in camp.

354 372 237 462 [171] *Lighting and Tending the Lamp.* The Copper Eskimo lighted and tended their lamps in the same way as the Eskimo of Smith Sound[1] except that they did not chew the blubber and spit it into the lamp. The housewife took out of a sealskin poke two or three strips of blubber a foot or more long by several inches wide, and with a specially designed hammer of musk-ox horn (*See* Figure 63) pounded them on the table to break up the cells.[2] She then laid them in the well of the lamp, when a little oil began at once to accumulate on the bottom, unless the weather was extremely cold. In this oil she soaked her eriophorum seeds, and arranged them along the lip of the lamp in a continuous line so that their lower edges touched the bottom of the well (or at least dipped into the oil that shortly accumulated), and the upper edges projected about a quarter of an inch above the rim. To light the wick she pinched it up into little points 2 or 3 inches apart, which readily caught fire from the torch; and by patting up adjacent parts of the wick with her lamp-trimmer she quickly produced a continuous smokeless flame rising to a height of about three-quarters of an inch. As the heat melted the oil out of the strips of blubber, she removed them to the back shelf of the lamp until they drained; then, later, she threw them to the dogs. Sometimes, if the lamp already contained a certain quantity of oil, she placed fresh strips of pounded blubber on the same shelf instead of in the well, so that the oil would not accumulate too rapidly and drip over the outer edges of the lamp. The Copper Eskimo had no device for melting the blubber on a stick or shelf, such as was common in both the eastern and western Arctic.

[824]

354 462 Hough[3] says that lamp-trimming "only reached perfection in the old women of the tribe, who can prepare a lamp so that it will give a good, steady flame for several hours, while usually half an hour is the best that can be expected." This is not true of the Copper Eskimo. There, the women naturally have more experience than the men, and on the average are more skilful, but many a hunter can tend the wick just as successfully as his wife. A lamp is seldom allowed to smoke; one of the inmates, be it the man, his wife, or even one of the children, is sure to notice it and pat down the wick.

354 415 [171] The same writer states in another passage[4] that "the lamp and the pot usually agree as to size, the rule being that the length of the pot shall be equal to the length of the wick edge." Among the Copper Eskimo, as in Smith Sound and, I believe, elsewhere, the sizes of the two vessels bear no direct relation to one another. For obvious reasons the wick edge of the lamp should be no shorter than the bottom of the pot; but it may be, and often is, much longer, for with her lamp-trimmer the housewife can readily adjust the flame to whatever length she desires.

[113]

[1] Cf. Stromsky, H. F.: Contributions to the Ethnology and Anthropology of the Polar Eskimos; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. XXXIV, p. 289 f.
[2] Polar bear fat was occasionally used instead of seal blubber, and probably fat of any kind in emergencies.
[3] Hough: op. cit., p. 1004.
[4] Hough: op. cit., p. 1007.

12

415 324 531 178 The flute-work in the corners and the strong handles of solid stone both disappeared, though the latter survived among the Caribou Eskimo.[1] In order perhaps to replace the handles, the neat ridges were lowered down the face of the short ends, and they were dropped entirely from the longer sides. With regard to the flute-work in each corner one may perhaps conjecture that it was a rounded projection pierced with a suspension hole, as in the pots of West Greenland,[2] to avoid drilling through the actual wall. So far as I know no specimen exists of the type of pot seen by Hearne.

TABLE

• 352 The table, having no legs, was practicable only in a snow-hut where one end could be supported by the snow wall.[3] As soon as the snow melted, therefore, it was cached with the lamp at some convenient spot on land and abandoned until the early winter. In shape, it was roughly rectangular, with one end often a little wider than the other; and in size, it ranged from 3½ to 4½ feet long by 10 to 15 inches wide. An average specimen is shown in Figure 61.

Figure 61. Table. IV.D.629. Approx. 1/12.

DRYING FRAME

417 The Copper Eskimo generally bestowed very little care on the making and handling of their drying frames, which, in consequence, were frequently broken and bent out of shape. Properly made specimens were never round, but roughly oval, the curve being flattened on the long side that fronted the sleeping platform. [414] Occasionally the two ends of the wooden hoop were merely lashed together; more often they were pegged with bone or copper pins. The frame was further strengthened by cross bars of sticks that passed at intervals of a few inches from one long side to the other and were lashed to the under edge of the frame exactly as the cross bars of a sled were lashed to the runners. Newly made [286] specimens, especially if large, had webbings of rawhide, but when the rawhide dried out and broke the owners often mended it with sinew. The thongs passed through holes (often sunken) in the frame, forming a warp and a weft that interlaced in what is known as cross-weft pattern, and gave square meshes from 2 to 4 inches across. A typical drying frame is shown in Figure 62. Simpson reported frames made of baleen on the south coast of Victoria Island near Wellington Bay,[4] but all that I observed were made of wood.

[1] Birket-Smith, K.: The Caribou Eskimos. pt. I, p. 183; Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24. vol. V. Copenhagen, 1929.

[2] Thomsen, T.: Implements and Artefacts of the North-East Greenlanders; Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. XLIV, p. 442.

[3] For the method of supporting the table, lamp, cooking pot, and drying frame see Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 61.

[4] Simpson, Thomas: Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America, London, 1843, p. 304.

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[361] of the bay, where a band of children were rolling hoops along the ice of the foreshore. "White man, white man," my companions shouted as they ran. The villagers poured out of their houses and crowded around me, men jostling women, and women pushing aside men, in their eagerness to scan my face and tell me their names. At the last came a tall, dignified man of about middle age who warmly seized my arm and
[352] invited me to enter his hut. When I crawled in behind him he set me in the place of honour at the back of the sleeping-platform, dusted the snow from my shoes, and seated himself in front at my feet.

My guide had relatives in this village witn whom he proposed to spend the night; but I had many notes to write and desired a separate snow-hut where I could be quiet and undisturbed. The Eskimos gladly built one for me while I unharnessed and fed the dogs; and they vied with each other in unloading the sled, hoping to catch a glimpse of my trade goods. Some stayed to share my supper, boiled rice seasoned with sugar and canned milk; and it was amusing to watch their faces as each in turn swallowed a spoonful of
[534] the novel dish. Not all of them shared my own opinion of its excellence, and the discussion that arose about the white man's food might have lasted all night if the distant booming of a drum had not diverted
[345] their thoughts and brought about a hasty exodus. The
[535] people were holding a dance in my honour, and awaited

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and to serve as storage-places for the bales of clothing. In little more than an hour the lamps burned brightly again in every home and we were dining sumptuously on dried trout and frozen salmon.

The snow-hut of the Eskimo is too well known to require a detailed description. It resembles the upper half of a sphere, slightly flattened at the top, with a diameter at the floor level of about nine feet and a maximum height slightly below six. A low platform covered with musk-ox and caribou robes takes up more than half the floor space; it serves as a bed by night and a place for sitting and working during the day. The entrance, which faces the middle of the platform, is simply a hole at the bottom of the wall large enough for a person to crawl through on hands and knees; a single snow-block at night makes a satisfactory door. To the right (or left) of the entrance is the saucer-shaped lamp for burning seal-blubber; the stone cooking-pot hangs over it, and over the pot is a large tray or rack where boots and mittens are spread out to dry. A table between the lamp and the sleeping-platform completes the furniture, but bags containing meat and blubber, and dishes of various kinds, litter the floor on both sides of the entrance. Finally, a low-roofed passage extending outward from the doorway ten to thirty feet leads into the open air.

The adjoining plan of a two-roomed hut, and the photographs scattered throughout the book, will give

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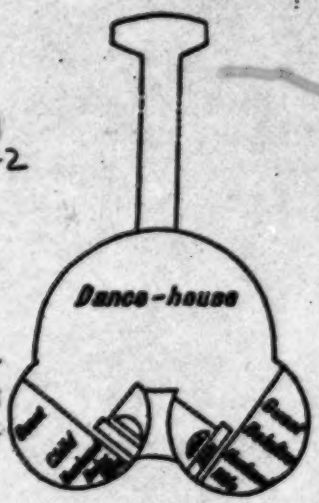
342a better idea of its shape and internal arrangements
352 than a lengthy description. Theoretically a snow-hut may be of any size, provided you have ladders, or timber to form a staging. The Eskimos have neither.
345 To build a large dance-hall like that shown in the plan they stand on boxes, bales of clothing, and anything that may be available. So the height of their largest hut never exceeds eight feet, and the diameter is limited to correspond. Being a sociable people, however, two families often share a single dwelling, and two or three others arrange their huts so that they open onto the same passage.

181
342



114
123
264

Imagine us, then, sitting on the edge of the sleeping-platform eating our supper, myself at one end of the line, Mrs. Light at the other facing her table and lamp. The different members of the family are grouped between us, two boys, a grown-up nephew, and lastly Mrs. Light's husband, who naturally has a [431] seat beside his wife. The youngest boy carries presents of fish to the inmates of the other huts, and two little girls who return with him, bringing similar offer-

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usual starting-point for Eskimos travelling to the Great Sound, since the hills immediately north were lower than at any other place either to east or west. Okowyarvik means "the Home of the Dryad," not the wood-nymph of that name, who could never find a home in this desolate land, but the *Dryas integrifolia*, a tiny flowering plant distantly related to our rose. The Eskimos generally paid little attention to the plants around them because they added nothing to their food supply; but the dryad, heather, and willow furnished their fuel during the summer months, and in the hills heather and willow were not procurable.

We lingered a week at "Dryad Harbour," for the season was still early and the snow that covered the land would last another month. While the men were hunting caribou the women overhauled their bags of clothing, putting aside all the heavier garments not needed again till winter. To these they added the furniture of the snow-huts, the long wooden tables, the drying frames, and a few of the stone lamps. Each family made a separate pile of its possessions, and on top of each pile the men deposited their sealing weapons, useless for the life on land. I myself cached nearly all my provisions—pemmican, rice, oatmeal, hard bread, and tea sufficient to last me about a month; only a little tea and cornmeal I retained on my sled, to ease the transition from the "balanced" diet of